

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMED

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 077869

EXDIS, DAR ES SALAAM FOR YOUNG, LONDON FOR MOOSE

E.O. 11652:X-GDS-3

TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV

SUBJECT:RHODESIA: TALKING POINTS FOR FRONT LINE

I. YOUR PRESENCE IN DAR ES SALAAM AT TIME OF FRONT
LINE PRESIDENTS MEETING OFFERS OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO
INFLUENCE FRONT LINE THINKING TOWARD A REALISTIC ASSESS-
MENT OF RHODESIAN SITUATION AND TOWARD DEVELOPMENT
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OF POSITIONS WHICH WILL ADVANCE THE SETTLEMENT EFFORT.
IN PARTICULAR, WE HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO GIVE FRONT
LINE PRESIDENTS AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT CAN BE DONE
WITHIN THE CONSTRAINTS OF US POLICY AT THIS TIME.
IT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL IF PRESIDENTS COULD OUTLINE A
WORKABLE POSITION, WHICH MIGHT BE REINFORCED BY THEIR
FOREIGN MINISTERS IN LAGOS (SHOULD THAT MEETING TAKE

PLACE). THE NEAR TERM GOAL SHOULD BE FRONT LINE SUPPORT FOR PATRIOTIC FRONT PARTICIPATION IN AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE, WITHOUT UNACCEPTABLE PRECONDITIONS. YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH NYERERE AND KAUNDA REVEALED A GENUINE INTEREST ON THEIR PART TO RETURN MOMENTUM TO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN EFFORT AND WE WOULD WISH TO RE-ENFORCE THIS TENDENCY.

2. IN PARTICULAR, WE ARE CONCERNED THAT FL WILL IGNORE

OUR PROPOSAL FOR AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING AND INSIST INSTEAD ON A MALTA II MEETING WITH PF ONLY IN ORDER TO HAMMER OUT AGREEMENT ON DETAILS OF AAP. AS WE HAVE NOTED IN OUR PREVIOUS APPROACHES TO THE FRONT LINE, SUCH A MEETING WOULD NOT ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE PROBLEM WE FACE IN TRYING TO BRING ALL PARTIES INTO AGREEMENT ON FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF A SETTLEMENT. IT WOULD TEND TO SOLIDIFY THE INTERNAL PARTIES IN THEIR DETERMINATION TO MAKE THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT WORK. IT WOULD ALSO SUBJECT BOTH THE BRITISH AND OURSELVES TO DOMESTIC CRITICISM THAT WOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR US TO PURSUE OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS. FOR THESE REASONS AND OTHERS, WE BELIEVE THE BRITISH COULD NOT BE PERSUADED TO GO ALONG WITH SUCH AN APPROACH.

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3. WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE MEETING THIS WEEKEND COULD SET IN CONCRETE OTHER VIEWS THAT HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED BY INDIVIDUAL FL LEADERS IN RECENT DAYS. FOR EXAMPLE, WE WOULD NOT WISH TO SEE THE FL ADOPT A POSITION, AS EXPRESSED MOST RECENTLY BY NYERERE, THAT CERTAIN INTERNAL NATIONALISTS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM A SETTLEMENT. AS YOU HAVE ALREADY SAID TO KAUNDA, WE WOULD NOT WANT THE FL, DESPITE THEIR GRAVE SKEPTICISM OF UK INTENTIONS, TO INSIST THAT THE US NOW TAKE THE DIPLOMATIC LEAD AWAY FROM THE BRITISH.

4. WE RECOGNIZE THAT YOUR ON-THE-SCENE PERCEPTION OF THE SITUATION IN DAR WILL BE MOST CRITICAL FACTOR IN DETERMINING SUBSTANCE OF YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH FRONT LINE LEADERS. WE PROVIDE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS FOR YOUR USE AS YOU SEE NECESSARY.

-- US UK COMMITMENT TO THE AAP IS FIRM. HOWEVER, PRESSURE TO ACCEPT INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN US AND UK IS STRONG AND COULD INCREASE IF WE WERE REGARDED AS TRYING TO DEAL EXCLUSIVELY WITH THE EXTERNAL NATIONALISTS.

-- THE IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN OUR JOINT TACTICS IN THE COMING MONTHS MUST BE TO KEEP ALIVE AS A REAL PROSPECT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BASED ON THE AAP. IF THE AAP REMAINS A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE, THIS WILL FORESTALL DOMESTIC PRESSURE IN THE US AND UK TO ACCEPT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND MAY GIVE MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE A WAY OUT OF THE CORNER THEY HAVE PAINTED THEMSELVES INTO.

-- WE BELIEVE DEFICIENCIES OF SALISBURY AGREEMENT AND STRUCTURE WILL SOON BECOME MORE APPARENT. INABILITY TO REACH A CEASEFIRE WILL ONLY BE ONE OF THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH WILL MANIFEST ITSELF.
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-- DOOR MUST BE LEFT OPEN FOR MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE TO RETURN TO AAP. IN OUR ESTIMATION BEST WAY TO DO THIS IS TO ENCOURAGE THEIR PARTICIPATION IN AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE. AS THEIR SITUATION BECOMES LESS HOPEFUL THEY WILL LOOK MORE FAVORABLY ON THIS OPTION.

-- DEMANDING PRECONDITIONS FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE MEETING, INCLUDING WITHDRAWAL FROM THEIR SALISBURY AGREEMENT, WILL CERTAINLY, AT THIS STAGE, BE UNACCEPTABLE TO MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE. THEY WILL BE MORE INCLINED TO COME TO THE MEETING IF THERE ARE NO PRECONDITIONS AND, ONCE THERE, BE MORE OPEN TO REAL NEGOTIATION.

-- THE US AND UK HAVE REFUSED TO ENDORSE OR SUPPORT THE SALISBURY ARRANGEMENTS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. HOWEVER, WE MUST BE ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT FURTHER PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS INVOLVING ALL PARTIES IS POSSIBLE.

-- PRESIDENT CARTER'S TRIP TO AFRICA WILL HAVE AN IMPORTANT EDUCATIONAL ASPECT FOR AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND MAY BE ABLE TO DISPEL SOME OF THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS MANY AMERICANS HAVE ABOUT ADVISABILITY OF OUR ACTIVE DIPLOMACY IN AN ESSENTIALLY AFRICAN PROBLEM.

-- IF WE CAN GAIN FULL SUPPORT FOR ATTENDANCE AT AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE FROM THE FRONT LINE AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, WE WILL BE IN A STRONGER POSITION IN PRESSING OUR CASE WITH THE SALISBURY PARTICIPANTS TO ATTEND. VANCE

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